l: Karsten--91 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
562 (1928-29)

"Collars consisting of jaguars' teeth are especially worn by old warriors and they are believed to impart to the wearer something of the strength and ferocity of this wild beast. Necklaces consisting of monkeys' teeth are also generally worn only by men, since it is considered proper that a man should decorate himself only with the teeth of such animals as he has killed himself. For the same reason ornaments consisting of plumes of birds are limited to the men."

1: Karsten--95 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
562 (1928-29)

"The house has always two doors, one at each end of the house, the one being used by the men, the other by the women. A Jibaro house, it should be noticed, consists of two departments, of which one is intended for the women and children and called ekinturu, the other for the men and for guests and called tangamásha. The quarter intended for the women is at once recognized by certain special arrangements. All round the walls in a Jibaro house there are low banks of split bamboo, called peaka, which serve as seats during the day and as sleeping places at night. These bunks or sleeping racks in the men's department are without edges or sides, but in the women's department each of them is fenced round with split bamboo, or in some cases only banana leaves, thus forming partitions closed in on three sides, somewhat resembling horse-boxes. For each of the wives in the house there is such a box: here the small children are kept as well as the dogs, the latter always tied up since, extremely savage and angry as they are, they would otherwise not hesitate to attack visitors."

1: Karsten--95 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
562, 574 (1928-29)

"No guest is expected to enter the house except through the door leading to the men's department, nor can he, without special permission, enter the interior of the house or the women's department. Only a guest who is well known to the Indians, or has lived for some days in the house, can enter there or occasionally use the backdoor also."

1: Karsten--95-96 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
562 (1928-29)

"Whereas the married men sleep in the ekinturu, the full-grown sons and other unmarried men always spend their night in the tangamasha, where each has his sleeping rack and [96] where occasional visitors may also take possession of a peaka for the night. The women are generally in the ekinturu, cooking food at one of the fires on the floor or doing other domestic tasks, and as a rule they set foot in the men's department only to offer manioc-beer to their husbands or to guests, or to bring them food."

1: Karsten--223 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 837, 562 (1928-29)

"The cruelty with which the deceived Jibaro husband treats his unfaithful wife is all the more noteworthy as otherwise the social position of the Jibaro woman is by no means that of an oppressed slave, as we shall presently see. She has much to say even in matters which do not directly concern her own domain within the household. But in a case of adultery only brute force and the law of the desert is valid. The Jibaro Indian treats his unfaithful wife simply in the same way as he treats his enemy to whom no mercy is shown."

1: Karsten--235-236 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 861, 562, 867 (1928-29)

"During the first years of life boys and girls receive much the same education, but after a time a differentiation takes place. The girls begin to accompany their mothers and are instructed by them in woman's work and occupations which they learn by imitating them. When the girl is 5 to 7 years old her mother pierces her nether lip with a thorn, inserting into the hole first a blade of grass, so as to prevent the wound from closing, and after that a small wooden pin. The hole in the lip is thus gradually widened so that when the girl reaches mature age the lip-tube tukúnu, can be worn, as by all Jibaro women. Whereas the pier-[236]cing of the nether lip takes place before puberty, the lip-tube itself is worn only by full-grown women and is a sign that the girl is marriageable."

1: Karsten--237[2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 861, 562 (1928-29)

"We now have to say a few words respecting the education of the boys, to which the Jibaros attach even more importance than to that of the girls. If one asks a Jibaro father what the education of his boy aims at, he will in most cases answer: 'That he may become a real man and a brave and skilful warrior'. Of this the young boys are constantly reminded in the speeches which the father at certain periods addresses to them every day, and which have special reference to the revenge they must take on the enemies of the family.

The art of warfare and all manly exercises in general, the ability to throw the lance, to bring down the animals and birds of the forest with blowgun and poisoned arrows, etc., the Jibaro boy acquires by associating with his father and other older men, his constant endeavour being to imitate the full-grown men and to do what he sees they do. When the boy is six or seven years old his father makes or buys for him a small blowgun with which he assiduously practises shooting, using unpoisoned arrows. With such arrows the boy easily shoots small birds which he immediately prepares and eats. Only after he has passed through the initiation and is received among the full-grown men is he allowed to use the arrow-poison."

1; Karsten--248 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 576, 562 (1928-29)

"Women have no particular greeting ceremonies when they come or go. Still at the great feasts I noticed that parting women took leave of the hostess by fanning her gently on the arms and shoulders with a big leaf, at the same time blowing and spitting on these parts of her body. The hostess returned these expressions of affection which, I was told, are customary at leave-taking among the Jibaro women."

"Some words may be added as to the position of the women. Those few writers who have touched upon the social position of the Jibaro woman have described it in that biassed and erroneous way which has been the rule especially among missionaries when they have dealt with the position of women in savage societies: she is nothing but an oppressed slave, without rights, and hardly regarded as a personality at all.(1) The truth is that the married Jibaro woman is not only completely independent within her own sphere of activity, but exercises a remarkable social influence and authority even in matters which mainly concern the husband. It is interesting to state in this respect that a family-father never sells fruit or other articles of food without the consent of his

"1. It is difficult to give a more incorrect idea of the position of the Jibaro woman than Rivet gives in the following words: 'Méprisées par leurs mari elles ne sont que des esclaves destinées à le servir, à préparer le chicha et les aliments, à filer et à tisser le coton, à cultiver le chacra qui entoure la maison.' (Les Indiens Jibaro, p. 59). The ignorance of the customs of the Jibaros upon which this statement is based may be inferred even from the fact that spinning and weaving ('filer et tisser') are occupations exclusively incumbent on the men. A similar erroneous account is given by Vacas Galindo in Nankijukima, p. 121 sq., who was probably Rivet's authority."

wife. There are, I think, few civilized societies where the man so unfailingly asks his wife's advice, even in unimportant matters, as among these savages. It occurred very frequently during my travels in the forest that I paid visits to the Jibaro houses to buy manioc or bananas, and received from the 'autocrat' of the house the answer: 'I must first ask [254] my wife.' Frequently the wife happened to be absent for the moment and then the answer was: 'Wait a while until my wife arrives.' I saw that there was a store of manioc and bananas in the house, and it would have been an easy thing for the man to give me immediately what I wanted to buy; yet he compelled me to wait for a long while, perhaps for hours, only to be able to ask his wife's permission to make the insignificant bargain. Still one can understand this consideration for the housewife when articles of food are in question. Since the wife is the keeper of the food and is responsible for the existence of a store sufficient for the needs of the family, it is natural that she should also be allowed to decide how much of it can be given to strangers. But her influence seems to be about the same in other matters. Both among the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, when I tried to find an Indian to go with me on a certain journey, I frequently received the same answer: 'I must first ask the advice of my wife.' On one occasion a middle-aged Indian at Canelos had already given me a half-promise to accompany me on a long journey by canoe. The definite arrangement depended on the assent of his

wife. When later he asked her, however, she made objections, the result being that the Indian finally declined to enter into my service. When a thing, however insignificant, was to be bartered, the women always wished to have a voice--and their decision was generally final. It might seem natural that the men alone should have the right to decide, for instance, respecting feather ornaments and other ornaments which they themselves make and only they use, things which in fact are always regarded as strictly personal property. Still even when trying to barter for such ornaments I frequently received the usual answer: 'I must first ask the advice of my wife.'

Such instances unquestionably make the theoretical 'autocracy' of the Jibaro husband appear in a somewhat curious light.

It would therefore be a great mistake to infer, from the cruelty with which adultery is often punished, that the Jibaro women are generally badly treated by their husbands; the very reverse is the rule. Of the relations between husband and wife in the Jibaro family it may be proper to say that it is regulated according to the principle: 'The man governs, but the woman holds sway.' That the Jibaro woman is by no means a slave to her husband but is able, when the situation requires, to maintain her independence, appears for instance from the following incident which I witnessed on my last journey among the Indians. The wife of my old friend Angoasha, Yanua by name, had gone out to the [255] fields to fetch fruit with the younger women. When they returned late in the

evening they were received with reproaches by Angoasha because he and the other men were running short of manioc-beer and the women had not arrived in time to brew any more. But Yanua who had been working hard the whole day was not disposed to accept any blame which in her opinion was wholly unjustified.

'Brew manioc-beer for yourself', she called out in indignation. 'Who would clean the fields and who would carry home the manioc, the sweet potatoes, and the earth-nuts if we women did not do it?'

'Why must the women always brew the manioc-beer?' asked one of the younger women. 'The men themselves may do it; then they will not be dependent on us'.

Angoasha answered nothing, probably because he realized that the objection was justified."

1: Karsten--255-256 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 562, 593 (1928-29)

"That conjugal love and affection also exist among savages like the Jibaros, I was frequently able to confirm myself. Thus even young girls of 8 or 10 years seemed to be most tenderly attached to their husbands or fiancés, who were many years older than themselves. When I travelled in company with Jibaro Indians they sometimes took their wives with them, especially to carry the fermented manioc substance, indispensable on all their journeys. On these occasions I had an opportunity to witness how my Indian baggage-bearers took care of their wives on the way, helping them to wade across the rapid streams and to climb the steep hills.

It may perhaps still be objected that the division of labour is unfavourable to the Jibaro woman, the heaviest work being incumbent on her. Precisely this assumption must be termed erroneous, as ought to be sufficiently clear from my previous statements. Thus the heaviest work in agriculture is no doubt the rough work, the felling of the giant trees and the removing of the trunks, as well as the clearing of the ground. This work, which requires great bodily strength, is always--among the Jibaros as among other Indians in Western Amazonas--performed by the men. Agriculture in the proper sense of the word, the sowing and planting, the clearing of the land, etc., is work that must be done by the women. The latter have also to carry home the fruits they cultivate--though not the plantain which is cultivated by the men--and it must be admitted that the baskets containing manioc are frequently very heavy. The big trunks and other kinds of material required for the constructing of houses, on the other hand,

are always brought by the men. [256] like the heavy logs of chonta wood used as fuel in the houses. As a general rule it may be stated that the heaviest work in the Indian society is done by the men, whereas occupations requiring less physical strength or more adapted for the weaker sex are incumbent on the women. But whatever the division of labour may be, it has nothing to do with the 'egotism' of the men and their desire to oppress the weaker members of the community.

The Jibaro woman, owing to her characteristic industry and intelligence, well deserves the influential position she has in the group. Being of a calm and quiet disposition, she forms a beneficent contrast to her impulsive, passionate, and revengeful husband. Thus, as appears from what I have stated before, the women are natural arbitrators in the family, and when at the feasts the men get drunk and show fight, the women part them and deprive them of their weapons, frequently preventing in this way further calamities. On the other hand it must be added that this peaceful attitude is not maintained towards the enemies of the family and tribe. When the punishment of bloodguiltiness, e. g. --the murder of a son or a husband--is in question, they appear just as revengeful as the men and even excite them to take vengeance.

The high esteem which the Jibaro woman enjoys cannot, however, be properly understood unless we realize that it has, so to speak, its foundation in the Indians' view of the world. When describing the 'feast of the women' I mentioned the mysterious influence

a family-mother is believed to exert upon all those departments of life where she is active, an influence which is increased by artificial means. Only a woman can act upon the female spirit of the manioc plant so as to make it produce an abundant crop; cultivated by a man it would yield but a meagre harvest. Only under a woman's care will the swine and the fowls increase and thrive, and the hunting-dogs become able to trace the game. With no education by a prudent and skilful mother, the sons and daughters would hardly grow up brave men and intelligent family-mothers. The man who does not own a good wife, properly initiated during the 'feast of the women', will soon find himself deprived of the necessaries of life, nay, will see his whole household ruined, however well he may have been provided in the beginning with fields and domestic animals. Hence the extraordinary importance and the great social influence of the Jibaro woman."

1: Karsten--425
116, 562, 787

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"Under this general heading it seems to me convenient to treat of certain customs of the Indians which are clearly of a religious or magical nature and are regularly practised when the Indians have to enter into relations with the spiritual world. Everybody is not prepared to take part in religious ceremonies; children for example are excluded until they have passed through the initiations. Fullgrown women, on the other hand, as we have seen, take part in many of them, and there are even religious rites which can only be peformed by the women, because only they possess the 'inner' qualifications necessary for success. But when ordinary conjurations of evil spirits are in question, the men, and particularly old men, are both physically and mentally far in advance of the women."

2: Stirling--100-102 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 292, 562

"Three principal types of feather crown are worn by Jivaro men. One called 'taguaza' consists of a disk-like brim formed by lashing together with cotton thread several concentric hoops of rattan. The outer circumference is decorated with bright-colored feathers, usually the red and yellow breast feathers of the toucan, and with green beetle wings (pl. 32). Another showy crown consists of a woven hoop of vegetable fiber which fits the head and to which are thickly attacked the red and yellow breast feathers of the toucan (pls. 4, a; 5, a). The third type of crown consists of a band of monkey skin [102] with the black fur attached, about 2 inches high, worn as a hoop about the head. Women do not wear feather crowns of this nature."

2: Stirling--102 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 301, 562

"Numerous types of collars, necklaces, and body ornaments, consisting of seeds, shells, teeth, bird bones, and at present heads and buttons, are worn. One conspicuous ornament worn somewhat after the fashion of a Sam Brown belt consists of numerous strings of small black seeds held together at intervals by transverse cotton strings worn in such fashion that it crosses both shoulders and encircles the waist. It requires almost a year of work to manufacture one of these ornaments which the Jivaros call 'nupish.' It is worn at the big fiestas and occasionally when a Jivaro wants to make an impression on a visit (pl. 6, a). Necklaces consisting of many strands of this same seed are also worn, as are similar necklaces of glass beads (pls. 4, b, c; 5, a, c). Collars woven of chambira fiber or made of bark completely covered with shells or buttons are a favorite ornament of the men (pl. 5, b). Another elaborate ornament worn by the men is the 'tayocunchi.' This is an elaborate back ornament made from hundreds of femurs of the tayo bird, which is found only in certain caves in the Jivaro country. The possession of such an ornament marks the owner as a brave man, as it requires courage to enter the caves which are the dwelling places of jaguars (or jaguar spirits) in order to obtain the birds. These ornaments are further embellished by the addition of bright-colored feathers and beetle wings. The most elaborate type of ear ornament consists of long hangings of iridescent green beetle wings which depend over the shoulders and terminate in tufts of red and yellow toucan feathers. These are called 'kuishi' (pl. 15, a)."

2: Stirling--102 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 301, 562

"While the women do not wear as elaborate ornaments as the men, they are fond of bead or seed necklaces or collars. A characteristic ornament of the women is the dance girdle, made by attaching to a cotton tape numerous triangular segments cut from the shells of the giant land snail which jingle like sleigh bells as the wearer walks or dances. This girdle is called 'unda acacho' (pl. 10)."

3: Simson--390-391 (No date) 1880 Jivaro -1
116, 562, 151

"Amongst all Indians 'Women's Rights' are at a very low stage of advancement; but amongst the Canelos probably more so than others. As with many tribes, the young male grows up very independent; and as soon as he can run about, rapidly acquires all the habits and vices of his elders. His day is chiefly spent in lolling round about the village, or further in the woods, with his blow gun, which he learns to use from childhood to the destruction of all the small birds. He also learns to fish and follow game, and soon becomes an adept in woodcraft, recognising at a glance the slightest trace of a track of man or animal, the nature of the thicket before him and the trees above him; and,when still a boy, every tree and spot for miles around his home is familiar to him. Besides this, he acquires that knowledge, almost instinctive in the Indian, of locality and direction, so difficult to understand, but which undoubtedly is instilled into the mind by the almost unconscious observation primarily of the position of the heavenly bodies, the direction of prevailing winds as frequently illustrated in the [391] growth of mosses and lichens, and the bend of trees, the general currents of the smallest streams, and the closest appreciation of many minor sources of enlightenment which would escape the notice of any but the most practised woodsman. It is truly marvellous to witness the knowledge an Indian displays (especially the Záparos) in detecting the presence of animals and tracking them, without even following on their trail half the time, when the unsophisticated can neither see nor hear anything to indicate that game has been or actually is near at hand. For an Indian, the slightest sound, rustle, or a glimpse of the

tip of a feather indicates to him at once all the particulars and species of a bird that may be hidden in the dense wood at the top of a tree through the heavy foliage of which it seems impossible to discern anything."

3: Simson--391 [2] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 584, 562

"The wife [KS: the Canelo] selected, she is bestowed upon the happy swain by her father; and all the bridegroom is required by custom to do, either then or previously, is to clear the ground necessary for a plantain and yuca plantation. This practically almost ends his destiny so far as work and the care of his family is concerned; and on the days he has not a special fit of laziness at home or jollification in the village, such as a wedding, death, the cleaning and weeding of a plaza, the arrival of friends from or departure to the Marañon for the purchase of salt and poison, each of which occasions constitutes a drinking bout of at least three days and nights, he merely strolls into the woods to seek game, which in the neighbourhood of the villages is generally rather scarce. He consequently returns usually unladen; but if successful, upon entering the house, throws his sport with disdain to the ground and himself into the hammock, and haughtily receives the attentions of his wife and the 'chicha' proffered for his refreshment. Every time a stranger enters a house, he is barely seated before each one of the women separately offers him a calabash of chicha."

3: Simson--391-392 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 562

"The poor woman [KS: the Canelo] leads a hard life; for apart from the arduous duties falling to the lot of all natural mothers, she has [392] to plant the 'chacra,' clean it and gather the fruit--a harder toil than may be imagined--make the chicha constantly, cook, cut and carry the firewood, provide her own dress and ornaments, and whenever her husband is drunk follow behind him like a dog by day and go before him by night fanning a firebrand to and fro to light his path, with the general duty of aiding him to rise each time the ground may come into contact with his lordly head, and assisting him in any other manner that may offer. The precedence is given to the wife by night, so that any venomous snake or other vermin lurking in the path may attack her first and not her affectionate husband, and to illustrate to him more clearly the steps he should choose.

When these Indians came, almost daily, bringing in large bunches of plantains, etc., the man always walked first with his lance in his hand and feathers on his head, whilst the wife followed meekly behind, laden like a pack-horse with the fruits, and often a child on her hip besides, and another dragging at her heels. I once suggested to some of the men that they should provide their women with some ornaments and clothing, but they evidently took my remarks to be pleasantry."

10: Anthony--150 [2] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 562

"The lot of the Jivaro woman is not a happy one as she is destined to do the greater part of the work and is the storm center for most of the strife. On the other hand, the men impressed me as being good-natured toward the women and spoke kindly to them. I believe, therefore, that in all minor matters the women receive some consideration."

Such are their many objects of ornamentation in which elegance equals originality. For the most part, they are common to both sexes, but used more by men than women. In Jíbaro country, the woman, considered as a slave without wishes or desires, knows nothing of elegance; the brave and strong male has preserved all his primitive privileges, and his omnipotence is more exaggerated by the isolation in which the various divisions of each tribe live.

There are also two doors placed at the extremities of the long axis of the ellipse, measuring about 2 meters high and 50 cm. wide. Sometimes, as an aid to defense, they are still more narrow. One of these doors is reserved for the women, the other for the men and this rule is never violated save for some very serious reason. We see there the first manifestation of the separation of the sexes, so accentuated in Jíbaro country.

12: Rivet--605 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 562

The status of these latter [KS: women who are captured in war] is entirely inferior. Despised by the husband, they are only slaves destined to serve him, to prepare the chicha and the food, to spin and to weave the cotton, to cultivate the chacra which surrounds the house. They also take care of the domestic animals, collect the firewood, gather in the harvest and make the household pottery. On the trail, during the day the woman walks behind her husband. At night, she goes ahead of him to frighten off snakes and show him the road. (1) In every case it is she who carries the burden. Vacas Galindo reports that a young Indian whom he had asked to carry a small package for him laid it down before entering the house of his relatives because, he explained, only women did that kind of thing. (2) Perhaps we should see in this custom not the manifestation of the sense of superiority of the male, much as the necessity he finds himself under of being always ready to defend himself and his own.

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1. Simson. op. cit., page 392.
2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima. op. cit., page 125.

12: Rivet--605 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 574, 562, 152

When the Jíbaro women come with their husbands to visit a white man, he is not permitted to talk to them, under the pretext that "they are not worth the trouble". Besides, they don't know any Spanish. When a friend of the tribe comes to the house, they never take part in the conversation; they do not approach a group of men except to bring chicha; if by chance the husband questions them, they answer right from the kitchen. The visitor does not greet them and pays no attention to them.

This contempt on the part of the Jíbaro men does not, however, exclude great jealousy, a sentiment which distinguishes them from their neighbors, the Zaparos. Simson reports that at Pintuc it was public knowledge that an old Indian who lived on the bank of the Pastaza had killed one of his six wives for infidelity. (1)

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1. Simson, op. cit., page 387.

12: Rivet--608 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 562, 833

Even in the interior arrangement of the house, there is a real separation of the sexes among the Jíbaros, not as clear as among certain peoples, but nonetheless evident. In consequence, the Indians never have intercourse in the dwelling, but always outside, in the cultivated field which surrounds the house.

20: Dyott--156-157
116, 562, 342

(no date) 1926

Jivaro

"Some writers claim that the Jivaros sub-divide their houses into special quarters for men and women, but I have never come across this. I have frequently noted a sleeping rack to be roughly fenced about, affording a slight measure of privacy to the pair who occupied it; but as to bringing about a general separation of the sexes, I cannot recall ever having seen it done."

20: Dyott--185-186 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 562, 775

"Why do women dig yuca and the men fell trees? were questions Johnston asked me. He laboured under the common misapprehension that the women were slaves, and did the hardest work; but I had to explain otherwise. The Jivaros carry their sense of the personal, not only to animals, but also to trees and inanimate objects. In their eyes all things are animated by human spirits, male or female. The yuca has a female soul, hence it is proper for the women to cultivate it. Clay is feminine, therefore women must fashion the simple pottery which they use. Women must also handle the vessels when it comes to cooking. Most trees are men, hence men must chop them down. Cotton is of the male gender, so men must spin thread and make their own 'itipis' and also the 'tarachi,' or garments worn by the women. It is the sex distinction which is all important. Man and woman's work is as distinct as night from day, and the duties of one never overlap those of the other. There is not even a question of comparison between the two. A man is a man, and a woman a woman. That is their final argument."

25: Vigna--38 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 562, 157

The woman is a slave. She has no control over the education of the children who from an early age become their own masters and are free to direct their own liberty. Because of the enormous distance between family and family, and the difficult and dangerous journeys, the Jíbaro is an egocentric type par excellence.

In practice, the Jíbaro does not readily abandon a present possession, even the most low and abject, which he may obtain hic et nunc, for a future good promised verbally. Also, he does not easily forget an injury or a punishment threatened for the future, which in any contingency he does not generally take into account.

25: Vigna--43 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 562, 302, 152

The Jîbaro woman does not paint her face, except on rare occasions and in a grotesque form. This is not done in an artistic manner as in the case of the man for whom the color, besides having an esthetic value, is a means of warding off witchcraft. The Jîbaro woman ordinarily does not care for her person, but goes about disheveled and slovenly. She pierces her lower lip and introduces into it a small reed. In general, the Jîbaro woman is very sullen and more savage than the man. Her laugh is very loud and uncontrolled (sonora y desmañada).

26: Brüning--70 [5] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 292, 562

Married women are distinguished by a narrow band which they wear over the muscle of the upper arm. I failed to indicate in my notes whether it is the right or the left arm. Since this band (patáko) is placed over the arm of very young persons and since it may not be removed, as time goes on the flesh grows over it and sometimes covers it. A widow in Huavico took off her band in my presence and dedicated it to me: it is 12 mm. wide and 21 cm. long.

28: Tessman--350 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 352, 562

Stools, tšimpúi, of the shape shown on Plate 59, Fig. 12 are chiefly used by men; the stools for women are lower. The various shapes of women's stools are shown on Plate 59, Figs. 11 and 14.

28: Tessman--357 [2]
116, 562, 756, 789

(No date) 1930

Jivaro

In the Aguaruna tribe only men can act as sorcerers. Their magic is monistic. The sorcerer is called ananténtšo or tuntsi. They do not believe in a separation of a being from its body. They have only one kind of sorcerer: the sorcerer who kills has at the same time healing faculties.

According to Karsten (The Religion, pp. 319 ff.), in the Chiwaro-Makas tribe an old sorcerer supervises the novice, putting in his mouth the spines of the Guilelma palm mixed with some saliva. It seems, however, that the novice receives the actual magic substance from the demon. This demon, in the shape of a giant snake or in the shape of some other serpentiform monster, appears before the entranced novice. The sorcerer must eat certain animals; others he must avoid--all this on account of certain analogous properties. The demon is said to hand the magic spines to the newly initiated. The derivation of the magic properties of a sorcerer is not quite clear to me. The leading sorcerer is remunerated for his services.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

can be achieved without recourse to the beliefs regarding nunuí, witchcraft, or kinship.

Three kinds of souls are recognized. The first type to be described is the *arutam wakanÍ*. This is an acquired soul and is believed by the Jívaro to be the most important kind. A man may possess up to two arutam souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *muisak*, or avenging soul. The third to be dealt with is the *nekás* wakanÍ, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

THE ARUTAM SOUL[3]

Arutam wakanÍ is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient specter" soul. The term "arutam" alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. "WakanÍ" alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus, the arutam wakanÍ is the particular kind of soul which produces the arutam or vision. An arutam appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The arutam *soul*, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the arutam soul that the Jívaro seek security from the ever-felt menace of death.

The Jívaro believe that the possessor of a single arutam soul cannot be killed by any form of physical violence, poison, nor by sorcery, although he is not immune to death from contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox.[4] In other words, a person who has even only one arutam soul in his possession is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. A Jívaro who is fortunate enough to possess two arutam souls cannot die of *any* cause whatever, including contagious disease.

A person is not born with an arutam soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is considered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an arutam soul at about the age of six years. Accompanied most commonly by his father, he makes a pilgrimage to the sacred waterfall of his neighborhood. This is always the highest waterfall within a few days travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of these souls which wander about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. By night the pilgrims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink tobacco water,[5] and await the appearance of an arutam to the vision-seeker. They may keep up this fasting for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they return home to make an attempt again at a later date.

If the arutam seeker is fortunate, however, he will awaken at about midnight to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind felling the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the arutam. Shortly the arutam appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of

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large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common arutam include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision-seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the arutam seeker. When the apparition arrives to within 20 or 30 feet, the Jivaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the arutam instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.[8]

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an arutam, the person returns to his house, but tells no one that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same arutam he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream-visitor is in the form of an old Jivaro man who says to him, "I am your ancestor. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have killed many times, so will you." Without another word, the old man disappears and immediately the arutam soul of this unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in the chest.

Upon acquiring this arutam soul, the person feels a sudden power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The arutam soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called *kakarma*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts. His newly acquired power increases his resistance to contagious disease to some degree, but most importantly it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an arutam soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with greater forcefulness.[9] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

When one has thus obtained an arutam soul, he generally is seized with a tremendous desire to kill. If the person is past puberty, it is ordinarily only a matter of a few months before he joins or organizes a killing expedition. The rare women who possess arutam souls kill primarily by means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jivaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of arutam they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers who then ask each man in turn to describe the arutam that he had seen. As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his arutam leaves his body forever, to roam again the forest as a wind, for arutam souls "are satisfied with one killing."[10] The departing arutam souls reportedly

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soul, the muisak emits power, but it is believed that the muisak's power is directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the tsantsa aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the power of the muisak is believed to be transmitted to the women who, ordinarily, lack power-giving arutam souls. This power, transmitted from the muisak to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which being primarily the responsibilities of women in Jívaro society.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only nonhuman creature thought to be capable of forming a muisak. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an arutam soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves so slowly, it is further believed to have lost its former arutam soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human tsantsa but generally somewhat less extensive.

THE TRUE SOUL

The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the nëkás wakanI, is born at the same moment as the person and is possessed by every living Jívaro, male or female. The true soul is present in the living individual primarily in the form of one's blood. Bleeding is therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is passive during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest to the Jívaro in terms of their total native belief systems.

When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form, eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbors return to their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their household activities and visit each other just as they did when their possessors were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incorporated in living individuals.[16]

One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry. Although they engage in subsistence activities and eat what appears to be food to them, it never satisfies them because it is really just air. The "animals" which these souls hunt in the forest are only the souls of the birds, fish, and mammals which they killed in their former lives. Such an existence of perpetual hunger is the fate of the true souls of all persons, without regard to the kind of life they led while in living persons. Needless to say, the true soul's fate of persistent starvation is dreaded by the Jívaro.

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all of the city was also finished, without scarcely a single man escaping. The encirclement was maintained until the next day, when they extinguished the torches of copal that had burned in all the streets and houses. While they searched for those in hiding, and looted all that they were able to carry, they sent part of the army to the other two cities, in case more help was needed.

Of all the females they had spared, they killed the old and the very young who could only be a burden, and saved the rest for their use. Among this number were almost all of the nuns of a monastery of the Conception founded a few years earlier, because except for the old women who founded it, the rest were young. Before midday they received the news that nothing had been carried out against the capital, because of the failure of the Macas to keep their word. Therefore, they sent more troops, leaving in Logroño those necessary to guard the females and the booty, and to complete the ruin by burning the houses one by one.

In the capital of Sevilla del Oro, 25 leagues distant, neither was the conspiracy discovered until the morning of the same fatal day. The Macas, being cowards, or rather being loyal to the Spaniards, did not resolve to co-operate; but neither did they have the courage to reveal the secret in time, out of fear of their mortal enemies. Those who were somewhat distant from the capital retired to the forests before the appointed day, and some of those closest to the capital fled into the city with their families, food and belongings, saying that they had learned that the Jíbaros of the Morona were going to destroy the cities and settlements of the government that night; because of that it was necessary for the Spaniards to be called to arms and to prepare a defense.

The number of inhabitants of the capital was great, but the major part useless in the situation, and could only serve as a hindrance. They had many weapons put away since the Conquest, but without maintenance and with very little gunpowder: the cavalry was almost nonexistent, because it was useless in the country: the consternation was excessive; because each one was

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KEY TO FIGURE 1

A Doorway at women's end of the house
- A_1 Removable door posts in upright position
- A_2 Crossbar holding door posts in place

B Chicken nest formed by a wedge of two palm slats against the base of the house wall

C Older wife's palm-slat bed, with crossbar footrest and three fire logs

D Married daughter's (and son-in-law's) bed

E Ordinary rectangular stool (*kutaŋă*), placed for use by a male visitor

F Doorway at men's end of the house
- F_1 Removable door post (left upright in the door)
- F_2 Removable door posts laid on the floor for use as visitors' benches

G House owner's bed, for his daytime napping and for use by overnight visitors

H House owner's round stool (*čimpuí*)

I Palm-slat platforms built above the reach of small children for the storage of large pottery vessels

J Younger wife's bed

K Younger wife's baby's hammock, made of a piece of cloth suspended between two poles

L Ordinary rectangular stool placed for use by the younger wife in cooking and making manioc beer

M Split guadua bamboo platform suspended between house-posts to support food and beer bowls. Underneath are the large beer-brewing jars of both wives.

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be unprotected from rain and possible attackers, a large floor area is essential. A large house also makes it possible for neighboring relatives to congregate in the dwelling to make a combined stand against an expected enemy attack. Space needs are, in addition, particularly great when a *tsantsa* feast is given, since large numbers of guests dance and sleep within the house on such occasions. Under such circumstances, extra beds are built to line the walls.

The Jívaro divide the house conceptually and functionally into two halves: the men's end (*tayamasā*), and the women's (*ekenta*). The men's half serves as a parlor and sleeping place for visitors. A couple of stools and a log door post or two serving as a bench are usually found in this end for the host and his visitors (Figure 1, H, E, F_2). The house owner's personal palm or bamboo slat bed is also located in the men's end (Figure 1, G) and, when there are visitors, is slept on by those male guests unaccompanied by wives. Sometimes, if there is not enough bed space, visitors will sleep on banana leaves spread on the dirt floor in the men's end of the house.

When there are no guests, the house owner uses the bed for his daytime napping, and for nighttime sleeping alone when his wife is menstruating or angry with him. Otherwise he sleeps with his wife on her bed in the women's half of the house. If he has more than one wife, there is a bed for each (Figure 1, J, C). Often an extra bed or two is also installed on the women's side for married couples who are visiting, or for a daughter and her husband during the period of temporary matrilocal residence within the house (Figure 1, D). Such beds are also utilized by children who no longer sleep on their mother's bed. Split bamboo (*Guadua* sp.) shelves are suspended in the women's end between the center posts (Figure 1, M) and palm slat or split bamboo shelves (Figure 1, I) along the walls. These are used to store pottery and baskets of pea-

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they encountered Nuŋuí digging clay out of the ground. She told them, "I am Nuŋuí, and I give all the people their food. I shall teach you a song. Sing it, because you are orphans, and make pots. Take some of this clay, and as soon as you get home, make pots with it."

The children obeyed her and found themselves able to make all kinds of pots which did not break when they fired them. There had been pots before, but usually they broke in firing. The children told everyone about their success. When they grew up, their houses contained many pots, they had excellent gardens, and many people came to ask them for pots. The orphans' crops flourished, their chickens and pigs multiplied remarkably, more than those of anyone else, and they taught the other people the song which they use to this day to prevent the pots from cracking during firing.

Nuŋuí is also believed to have given the dog to the Jívaro for hunting. This association of dogs with Nuŋuí is consistent with the importance of the dogs in protecting the gardens from rodents and other destructive animals, and with the fact that they are cared for by the women. In fact, when a man wishes to hunt game that requires the assistance of a dog, he asks a wife to accompany him, and to handle the dog on a leash. It is believed that the presence of the woman, through her connection to Nuŋuí, will help the man have better luck, and she constantly (and usually silently) sings to Nuŋuí for success in getting game and also so that the dog will be protected from snakebite or other misfortune.

Women also sing to Nuŋuí to help protect the household from attack by enemies who might be approaching through the surrounding garden. That is, they believe that the manioc plants especially have an innate desire and capability to suck the blood from any person touching them. A woman, therefore, sings to them to suck the blood of enemies, but not of

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701 554 piece). Similarly, he adopts an ever more forceful and aggressive style of speaking when receiving visitors, meeting others on the trail, or in visiting other men. He conveys the impression of being invincible in every aspect of his [865] public demeanor. If he has a son, he encourages him to become a killer also, and instructs him to the extent of taking him on assassination expeditions even as early as the age of six or seven years. Although such a young boy will not yet take part in the actual killing, the father brings him up to the corpse after the murder and has him fire into it, with the father helping him hold the gun. The wives of such [562] [581] a *kakaram* also are expected to outperform other women in making superior pottery vessels, doing garden work and other aspects of household labor. Informants said that one way of looking at this was that since a *kakaram* is very much a man, his wives have to be very much women.

701 554 626 While a *kakaram* is greatly feared by his enemies, his neighbors usually look upon him as a great local asset, a deterrent to attacks upon them, and refer to him with the title *untü* (big) before his name, especially if he is also hospitable to them and generous with beer and food. Of course, there may be neighbors who get into a quarrel or other dispute with him; but they almost always move as soon as possible to another region of the tribe where they feel more secure. Thus there is a continual process of self-selection in terms of the composition of any neighborhood, which tends to reduce local antagonisms.

701 721 When a *kakaram* has become really famous, even his worst personal enemies may come to him to ask for help in killing someone. To make such a request, an enemy, accompanied by at least one bodyguard, will approach the house of the *kakaram*, firing his gun several times and frequently giving the standard visitor's yell, so that it will be clear

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every few years. His power, in the form of these spirit servants, is gradually used up through curing, bewitching, or dispensing it. He expects, therefore, to have to replenish his supply by visiting his higher associate. The lower shaman may look forward to help from the higher man only if he has been faithful in the submission of goods.

Tribute between shamans flows from the south, since, of course, the most powerful shamans are in the north. The tribute follows the lines of the shaman hierarchies up into the Canelos tribe. These hierarchies do not converge upon a single Canelos shaman, however, because there are a number of banks of about equal power in the tribe. In other words, this is basically a system of plural and parallel hierarchies culminating in the same region, but not in the same individual.

The hierarchical situation is further complicated by the fact that a given shaman frequently obtains magical power from several higher associates. He does this so that his power cannot be completely taken away from him at the whim of a single higher shaman. This tendency seems to prevent the hierarchies from being used as chains of authority. Since a shaman is thus often directly subordinate to several others, considerable intertwining of hierarchical relationships occurs (see Figure 3).

Roughly speaking, about one out of every four adult men is a shaman, so that, in any given locality, the shamans constitute a significant proportion of the male population. A few women are shamans, but among the Jivaro this is basically a man's occupation. The shamans in any particular neighborhood are ordinarily linked together by secret partnerships. These partnerships are also hierarchical in nature, and often a single shaman is the formally recognized leader of all the shamans in a specific neighborhood. These secret

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A Jivaro who is fortunate enough to possess two *arutam* souls 798
cannot die of *any* cause whatever, including contagious 961
disease.

A person is not born with an *arutam* soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is considered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain [562]
arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that inter-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an *arutam* soul at about the age of 778
six years. Accompanied most commonly by his father, he 823
makes a pilgrimage to the sacred waterfall in his neighbor- 787
hood. This is always the highest waterfall within a few days' 776
travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of those souls or spirits which wander about as lowsom, scattering the spray of the long cascade. During the day, the vision seekers "bathe" in the waterfall by striding back and forth under its cold and drenching canopy, actually walking between the downpour and the cliff from which it is dropping. They walk naked and shivering, and in some danger from falling logs which may be swept over the cliff with the current. Each passes with [824]
the aid of a magical balsa wood staff carved for the occasion, and chants, "tse, tse, tse," continually. By night the pilgrims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink [296]
tobacco water (made by steeping green tobacco leaves in cold water), and await the appearance of an *arutam*.

They may keep up this fasting, "bathing," and tobacco 296
water drinking for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they 787
return home to make another attempt at a later date. More

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killed many times, so will you." Without another word the old man disappears and immediately the *arutam* soul of this unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in his chest.

Upon acquiring this *arutam* soul, the person feels a sudden power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The *arutam* soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called *kakaram*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts. His newly acquired power increases his resistance to contagious disease to some degree, but more important, it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an *arutam* soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with great forcefulness.[9] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

When one has thus obtained an *arutam* soul, he generally is seized with a tremendous desire to kill, and it is ordinarily only a matter of a few months before he joins a killing expedition. If he is a young boy, he will accompany his father. The rare women who possess *arutam* souls kill primarily by means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jivaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of *arutam* they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers, who then ask

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in the case of the *arutam* soul, the *muisak* emits power, but it is believed that the *muisak*'s power is directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the *tsantsa* aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the power of the *muisak* is believed to be transmitted to the women, who, ordinarily, lack power-giving *arutam* souls. This power, transmitted from the *muisak* to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which are primarily the responsibilities of women in Jívaro society.

In addition to the regular head trophy obtained through inter-tribal raiding, there is another kind of *tsantsa* which may, on rare occasions, be made of an *untsuri huarā* intra-tribal assassination victim, provided he belongs to a neighborhood which is consistently hostile to, or very distant from, one's own. To make this *tsantsa*, the killer simply pulls out some of the victim's hair from his head, rather than decapitating him. The hair is loose, not in the form of a scalp, and is then stuck with beeswax onto the top of a tree gourd which has had the bottom cut off. The beeswax, which is naturally black, is also used to model eyes, a nose and mouth, and ears on the surface of the calabash. Chonta palm splinters are put through the beeswax lips and a doubled *kumai* bark string is inserted through a hole in the top of the gourd so that the killer may carry it hanging from his neck.

This trophy is used for the regular three feasts, it being believed that the dead enemy's *muisak* is in it because his hair is there. The advantage of this kind of *tsantsa*, according to informants, is that they can make it without getting the blood of members of their own tribe on themselves. It is

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628 a shotgun to the aggrieved party as a compensation to termi-
682 nate the matter. If the aggrieved party, primarily considered
728 to be the eldest male of the murdered man's conjugal family,
accepts this gift, then the gift-receiver takes the responsibility
[431] for seeing that his kinsmen consider that the matter is finished.
He warns the other relatives of the dead man that if they
attempt to kill the gift-giver for the old offense, they will
have to fight him (the gift-receiver) as well.

628 While sanctions against murder by physical violence are,
682 in return, expected to be by physical violence, punitive assas-
sination of one who has murdered through bewitching may be
754 either by means of sorcery or physical violence. Normally,
the sanction for a first murder offense by means of sorcery
is also assassination by sorcery. For a second homicidal sor-
cery offense, physical violence is considered to be the more
proper sanction.

682 The importance of the concept of equivalent retaliation
is indicated by the sanction considered proper when a man is
• 562 poisoned by a woman. Poisoning (one of the favorite forms
278 of murder) is done almost exclusively by women, since they
alone prepare and serve the food and beer to guests. When
a man is fatally poisoned, the aggrieved family may not at-
tempt to kill the guilty woman, if they feel that the death of
a woman would be inadequate to compensate for the death
[593] of a man. In such a case, they assume that the proper sanc-
tion is to poison the guilty woman's brother. Often, however,
the vengeance is wreaked directly on the woman believed re-
sponsible. They usually have to wait several years in order
to catch the victim off guard at a feast in order to poison
him or her successfully.

[754] In both poisoning and sorcery, there is the problem of
[727] properly identifying the guilty party. Most poisoning is done
at the large *tsantsa* victory feasts, where a dozen or more

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women of different households are continually circulating among the guests serving manioc beer. The poisoner, under such circumstances, is very difficult to detect. The family of the victim, however, invariably accepts the opinion of the dying victim as to the identity of the guilty party, and her brother is marked for death.

A curing shaman who has attempted unsuccessfully to cure a fatal case of sorcery is expected to tell the deceased's survivors the identity of the bewitching shaman. Sometimes the shaman does so, but at least as often he simply says that the fatal magical dart came from a shaman "far away" whom he cannot recognize. In this way, informants say, the shaman avoids the reprisals which might result against himself if he were to name a specific Jívaro as the guilty party.

It is not believed proper to assassinate personally a brother or trading partner in retaliation even for the murder of one's wife or child, although cases do occur. The more common approach to administering the punishment is for the aggrieved party to plan and organize the avenging raid without actually participating. In such a situation, a non-related or distantly related *kakaram* may be invited to come and carry out the assassination.

Murder by witchcraft requires the sanction of homicide by physical violence, but most non-fatal illnesses ascribed to witchcraft do not usually evoke retaliation. One reason is that normally a curing shaman does not reveal the identity of the bewitcher except in fatal cases. When retaliation is desired for non-fatal witchcraft illnesses, the recovered patient hires a bewitching shaman to bewitch the original bewitcher.

Sexual offenses, with the exception of wife-stealing, normally do not involve the sanction of homicide. The punishment varies in specific instances, but most commonly consists of slashing the forehead and scalp of the offender with a ma-

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685 727 [674] tion of household looting following the assassination of an enemy. In such cases, the assassins are practicing behavior which is supposed to be reserved for acts of war against non-*antsuri iwia*. Such behavior is thus in the nature of an additional indignity inflicted upon the victim's household, and is normally considered very bad form within the tribe. In-

685 428 heritance of property does not always go entirely smoothly, however, because younger siblings may be angered if the eldest does not share some of the inheritance. Since, however, the eldest has the legal right to keep all the parent's possessions, the younger siblings do not have any recourse to any formalized sanctions. They usually just refuse to visit the elder brother.

• 562 422 423 A man's property consists of the house he has built, the artifacts that he has made or has received as gifts, the game and fish that he has caught, and the crops (mainly maize) that he has raised. A woman's property likewise consists of the artifacts she has made or received as gifts, wild foods she has gathered, the crops that she is cultivating or has harvested, the section of the garden in which she raises them (if there is another wife), and the pigs and chickens that she raises. A woman may also own a pottery clay deposit if it is near her house and she was its discoverer and excavator.

423 Land, or natural resources, is not owned individually or communally, except in the sense that a specific garden or part of a garden is owned by a woman as long as it is being cultivated, usually no more than about five years. Even in this case, it is the capital improvement of the land that is owned, in the form of the garden, not the land in its natural state. No territorial boundaries are recognized for hunting, fishing,[1] or other purposes on a tribal, neighborhood, or household level except in one type of apparently very rare situation. This was a reported case of two related men living

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765 *tsantsa*, for increasing the power of women who are members
of the host's household. Therefore, any fight that erupts is
796 immediately stopped by the other male participants, led by
[774] the male master of ceremonies, the *tsea*, who usually has been
[778] selected for the role because of his considerable ritual knowl-
[554] edge and prestige. Fights between females at the feast, al-
[624] though less common, are similarly halted by the women, led
• [562] by the female ceremonial leader, the *nôâ*, who is selected on a
basis similar to that for the *tsea*. Thus the religious, ritual,
765 and social pressures of the occasion operate to make it the
796 safest, most euphoric, and largest social gathering known to
727 the Jivaro. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *tsantsa*
feasts tend to be viewed by the Jivaro as the pinnacles of
[619] their social lives. It is also expectable, given the ethos of kill-
[571] ing and counter-killing, that this, the greatest celebration,
[181] centers around the indisputable evidence of a triumph over a
[533] common enemy. The intimate interaction between the eupho-
[535] ria of the celebration and the awareness of the murdered
[539] enemy is illustrated by this *tsantsa* feast circle dance song:

Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
Cuwi[3] tells me
Cuwi tells me
We are going to greet the dawn playing.
Cuwi tells me
Cuwi tells me
We are going to greet the dawn.

And they taught me previously.
I cannot sleep easily.
And I will meet the dawn together with Cuwi.
And don't you sleep!
And don't you sleep!
For now it is dawning, for now it is dawning.